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ABSTRACT

The history of U.S. Federal policy relative to the American Indian is traced from its beginnings in 1755 to its recent posture in the early 1970's in this monograph. Federal attitudes and resultant legislation are documented in a chronological examination of: the "removal policy" (the Indian Removal Act of 1830); the beginnings of Indian education programs (1819-60); the shift from military to civil administration of Indian affairs in the middle 1800's; the treaty period and establishment of the Indian Peace Commission in the middle 1800's; the reservation system; the land allotment period (1887-1934); the questions of U.S. citizenship and Indian "competency" (Indian Citizenship Act of 1924); the attack on the allotment system and the Merium Report; the Indian reorganization period (the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act); the effects of World War II (increased cultural sophistication among Indians who served in the war and increased Federal aid to Indians); the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946 for purposes of facilitating Indian suits against the U.S. government; the trends of the 1950's and 1960's; the affirmation of unfettered self-determination during the Nixon administration; and the new service orientation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. (JC)

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Federal Indian Policies

...from the Colonial period through the early 1970's

Touching of the pen at Fort Laramie, Wyoming. (U.S. Signal Corps photo from National Archives and Records Service).

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Message from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

In the hearings before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee that were held on my confirmation as Commissioner of Indian Affairs I said that, under my leadership, the top priorities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would be: 1. Insuring that the Bureau meets its trust responsibilities to American Indians; 2. Delivering meaningful services to Indians; 3. Helping Indians achieve greater self-determination.

I am now examining every aspect of trust responsibilities, including water rights. This administration has already restored to trust 48,000 acres of land including Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo of New Mexico. It has restored to trust another 21,000 acres of land including a part of Mount Adams to the Yakima Indians of Washington State. The Menominee Indians will shortly have their land back into trust and be entitled, once again, to the services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I am giving consideration to other aspects of the trust relationship.

Indian tribes must have the opportunity to develop their tribal governments so that they can utilize tribal human and natural resources. The Indian leadership of this Nation has a total commitment to this task. Resources must be made available to the tribes for it. If assistance is desired, this must be provided without paternalism. Developing tribal governments is a major step towards true Indian self-determination.

Indian education must combine the best in physical resources--classroom materials and aides—and the best in knowledge and commitment and understanding of Indian young people on the part of Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers.

I am pleased that the Congress has passed the Indian Financing Act. This will help Indian communities become viable economic entities. I am hopeful that the Congress will be successful in enacting more of the Indian legislation that is before it in the near future. Enactment of this legislation will make our job easier.

Morris Thompson
Commissioner of Indian Affairs

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FEDERAL INDIAN POLICIES

...from the Colonial period through the early 1970's

Our country's first administrator of Federal Indian policies, Henry Knox, said at the time of his appointment as a Cabinet officer in George Washington's Administration:

> "That the civilization of the Indians would be an operation of complicated difficulty; that it would require the highest knowledge of the human character and a steady perseverance in a wise system for a series of years, cannot be doubted. But to deny that, under a course of favorable circumstances, it could be accomplished, is to suppose the human character under the influence of such stubborn habits as to be incapable of melioration or change."

In the early colonial period the Indians represented a strong balance of power between the forces of Spain, France, and England and were therefore treated as sovereign nations until the issue of North American domination was settled.

Until 1755, the individual English colonies had no coordinated policies on Indian affairs. During that year the British developed an Indian policy designed to: (1) protect the Indians from opportunistic traders and speculators; (2) negotiate boundary lines by treaties; (3) enlist the Indians on the side of the British in the French and Indian War; and (4) exercise as much control as possible over the fur trade.

King George III in 1763 proclaimed: "The several nations or tribes of nations, with whom we are connected, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories, as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as hunting grounds."

The proclamation by King George III defined the "Indian country" to be administered by two superintendents, one north and one south, and set aside "reserved lands" for the Indians. The two superintendents took on the role of diplomatic agents negotiating with the various tribes by means of a series of treaties.

The leadership of Benjamin Franklin is of historical importance to the development of this and subsequent periods of Indian affairs. He proposed, at the Albany Congress of 1754, that all colonial Indian affairs be centrally administered. The Franklin plan was a forerunner of later centrally administered British Indian policy under the two superintendents and of centralized Indian policy under the new American Government.

The outbreak of hostilities between the Americans and the British in April, 1775, pitted tribe against tribe and produced strenuous efforts for Indian alliances by both colonial and imperial governments. The young American revolutionary government attempted to win the friendship of the Indians through treaties. But most of the tribes supported George III, and even tribal neutrality was counted a success by the colonists.

The Continental Congress, in one of its first actions, named a Committee on Indian Affairs in 1775. This committee produced a report a month later which prompted the Congress to set up "three departments of Indians" – the Northern, Middle, and Southern. The Congress continued many of the policies of Colonial times as well as creating new ones. Included among the outstanding Americans serving as commissioners of the Indian Departments were Benjamin Franklin and Patrick Henry in the Middle Department, and General Philip Schuyler in the Northern Department.

The Indian Commissioners were given authority "to treat with the Indians. . . . in order to preserve peace and friendship with them and to prevent their taking part in the present commotions." The first negotiation was with the Six Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora) in July, 1775, and called for employment of two blacksmiths among the Indians and the opening of trade.

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The first of 370 Indian treaties to be concluded during the next century was with the Delawares on September 17, 1778. This treaty held out the possibility that an Indian state might later be established as one of the states in the new country. This idea reappeared many times as an ultimate goal for Indian policy, without substantial result.

During the Revolutionary War, the Indian commissioners acted primarily as diplomatic agents, negotiating with various Indian tribes to gain their allegiance. Their work was kept under the authority of the Congress until a year after the war ended.

The Beginning of Forced Removal

In 1784 the Congress of the Confederation placed the administration of Indian affairs within the War Department, with the Secretary of War directed to place armed militia at the disposal of the Indian commissioners "for negotiating treaties with the Indians."

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 was important in establishing the framework for settlement beyond the Alleghenies and in shaping Indian policy. It provided that:

> "The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

Over the next 50 years, the new Nation and its government grew stronger. Laws regulating the trade between whites and Indians were added to the books, and a network of Indian agents and sub-agents was established following a report relating to military administration of trade practices with Indians. The report called for legislation "to ensure faithful disbursement of public money" and to enforce "prompt settlement of accounts."

In 1824, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun had begun to tie together all Federal Indian activities under an Indian Affairs Agency. He saw the Federal role as providing for: (1) appropriations for tribal annuities to be made to tribes for lands they had lost; (2) examination of Indian claims relating to trade laws; (3) bookkeeping; (4) correspondence with Indian superintendents and agents; and (5) administration of a fund for the civilization of Indians.

Meanwhile the systematic forced removal of Indian groups from the choice eastern lands to the western wilderness across the Mississippi had begun. Nearly all the Cherokees in the lower Appalachian area were driven across the mountains to settle in the Indian Territory. This territory, carved from the Louisiana Purchase, was created by President Thomas Jefferson, who expressed the hope that the removal of Indian groups from heavily settled eastern regions would contribute to their advancement.

The "removal" policy had been precipitated by activity in the late 1820's within the State of Georgia. The Cherokee Tribe in that State, a highly advanced civilization, had adopted an Indian constitution, modeled after the U.S. Constitution. The Georgia Legislature then nullified the Cherokee Constitution: appeals made by the Cherokees eventually resulted in a U.S. Supreme Court decision nullifying Georgia's action.

Chief Justice John Marshall's decision recognized that earlier Congresses had passed laws "which treat (Indians) as nations" and "as distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries."

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 established procedures for voluntary exchange of eastern Indian lands for new western acreage that was to be held by the tribes under perpetual guaranty from the Federal Government.

In 1834 Congress gave regular and permanent status to the Indian Affairs office and it began carrying out President Andrew Jackson's directive to remove all Indians living east of the Mississippi River to new western lands. These removal policies relied more on military force than diplomatic treaty.

The Five Civilized Tribes—Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles—were pressured by negotiations and threat of force to move westward to the new Indian Territory. Although some members of these Tribes resisted, most became established in the new lands and were among the first citizens of Oklahoma when statehood was proclaimed.

Other Indian tribes from the northeast and Great Lakes regions also were subjected to the removal policies. Removal was justified by the Federal Government as a means of protecting the Indians from repeated encroachments of eastern white settlers. The Government policy bitterly divided the country—in the Congress, among the religious groups, in the press, and among Indians themselves.

"In the consummation of this grand and sacred object rests the sole chance of averting Indian annihilation," argued Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring, in 1832.

Another Indian Commissioner, George Manypenny, 1854, urged the abandonment of the removal policy.

"By alternate persuasion and force," Manypenny said, "some of these tribes have been removed, step by

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step, from mountains to valley, and from river to plain, until they have been pushed half-way across the continent. They can go no further. On the ground they now occupy, the crisis must be met, and their future determined.

Many of those people who sympathized with the plight of the survivors of Eastern tribes who were now settled west of the Mississippi, thought they were doing these people a good turn by removing them from civilization's path until they could acquire the skills and knowledge necessary for assimilation.

The Start of Indian Education Programs

A number of separate treaties with Indian tribes had set the precedent for placing responsibility for Indian education in the hands of the Government. One of the first of these treaties was with the Oneidas, Stockbridges, and Tuscaroras in 1794. Two years earlier the famed Seneca Chief, Cornplanter, visited President Washington, asking the Government to "teach our children to read and write and our women to spin and weave." A Federal directive to provide the "blessings of civilization" to Indians through treaties was issued in that year.

A "civilization fund" was contained in a law passed by Congress in 1819 which appropriated $10,000 annually to provide elementary educational services to Indians. All funds provided by this act were channeled through religious and mission groups for the education of Indians. The Federal Government and the private mission groups combined later in the 1840's to launch the first Indian boarding school system. Not until 1860 was the first non-mission Federal Indian school started. (Congressional Acts of 1896, 1897, and 1917 eventually established that no further Federal funds for education could go to sectarian schools.)

Civil Administration Begins in Mid-Century

Repeated efforts were made in the Jacksonian period to regularize Federal Indian administration through legislation. The War Department's head of Indian Affairs reported in 1828, that there were "fruitful sources of complaint" due to the lack of an organized system. In 1834 Congress passed a Trade and Intercourse Act setting up an Office of Indian Affairs, and modernizing trade practices as the result of a report in 1829 by two experienced Indian affairs specialists, Lewis Cass and William Clark.

Both Clark (of Lewis and Clark Expedition fame) and Cass had been territorial governors in Indian country for many years and Clark also had been superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis. Cass was to become Secretary of War in 1831. Their report called for new legislation "to ensure a faithful disbursement of the public money" and "to enforce a strict accountability and a prompt settlement of accounts."

Noting the increased lands to be supervised by a still-growing United States, and the need for establishing peaceable relations with the Indians, Treasury Secretary Robert J. Walker voiced the sentiment of many who advocated transfer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the War Department to a new Department, soon to take shape as the Department of the Interior.

Walker said: "The duties now performed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are most numerous and important, and must be vastly increased with the great number of tribes scattered over Texas, Oregon, New Mexico and California, and with the interesting progress of so many of the tribes in Christianity, knowledge, and civilization. These duties do not necessarily appertain to war, but to peace, and to our domestic relations with those tribes placed by the Constitution under the charge of this Government."

By 1849, with creation of the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs passed from military to civil control. Its work consisted of attempts at "civilizing" the Indian people by training them for farming or trades. In 1862, Secretary of the Interior Caleb Smith recommended a "radical change in the mode of treatment of Indians" to regard them as "wards" of the Government. Consequently, the Bureau's efforts were often in conflict with military policy and it sometimes became the uneasy and unhappy buffer between the Indians and the U.S. Army.

The Call for Peace

The removal policy had succeeded in large measure with the Five Civilized Tribes because they envisioned an Indian nation, fully sovereign and federated. But many of the Plains Indians resisted all military moves to relocate them. They possessed the white man's horse and gun and fought bitterly against further encroachments on their lands and their way of life.

Tensions grew between Indians and whites in the western territories in the late 1850's and throughout the 1860's, as the railroads began moving west, culminating in a series of Indian "uprisings" and a Congressional demand that peace prevail in Indian country. After the Civil War, Congress authorized establishment of an Indian Peace Commission, comprising four civilians and three military leaders including Indian Commissioner Nathanel G. Taylor and General William Tecumseh Sherman.

Peace Commission field trips had disclosed considerable corruption among Indian agents. Its report of 1867 stated: "The records are abundant to show that agents

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have pocketed the funds appropriated by the Government and driven the Indians to starvation." It blamed Indian agent corruption or incompetence for creating Indian incidents, notably the 1862 Sioux uprising in Minnesota.

Two separate actions were taken by the Federal Government to produce reforms in Indian policy. In 1869 a Board of Indian Commissioners was named and charged by Congress with the responsibility for advising the Secretary of the Interior on matters relating to Indian affairs. President Grant at the same time requested religious organizations to nominate Indian agency superintendents. The Board of Indian Commissioners, lacking any policy-making authority, was continued until 1933, when it was abandoned by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's executive order; nominating of Indian Bureau agents by religious groups was discontinued a few years after it was begun.

In 1867 and 1868 the Indian Peace Commission negotiated the last of 370 Indian treaties. These required tribes of the Upper Great Plains, the Southwest, and the Northwest to settle on various reservations in the West. The last treaty, signed with the Nez Perce of Oregon on August 12, 1868, removed the tribe to a new reservation in Idaho.

The U.S. Congress, on March 3, 1871, finished the Indian treaty period with a clause tacked to a Congressional appropriation for the Yankton Indians: ". . . . . hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States shall contract by treaty."

Ironically, it was a mixed-blood Seneca Indian, Eli S. Parker, said to be the grandson of the warrior Red Jacket, who presided over the Indian Bureau when the last chapter in the history of treaty-making was written. Parker was a professional engineer, recognized authority on the Iroquois League and personal secretary to General Ulysses S. Grant in the Civil War.

The Reservation System

Twenty years of intermittent warfare followed the signing of the last Indian treaty before the last of the Western Indians were moved to reservations. Geronimo's surrender in the southwest in 1886 and the battle of Wounded Knee in South Dakota in 1890 followed numerous Federal military victories in the southwest, Dakotas and Oregon, and marked the end of serious resistance to relocation policies.

The reservation system brought a new set of woes to the Indians, as the Government pressured them into relinquishing customs and culture.

Chieftainship, which had been encouraged since Colonial days as a means of tribal control, was not attacked directly. Instead, chiefs were bypassed while law and order was delegated to tribal police forces and Courts of Indian Offenses. The result was a gradual breakdown of tradition upon which the Indian had always leaned heavily, with nothing to replace it.

Native religions were discouraged, some ceremonies forbidden, and Christian missionaries encouraged. Particularly vicious were the attacks upon Indian "prophets" which culminated in the battle of Wounded Knee in 1890.

Commissioner Francis Walker (1871-73) set the tone of the "forced reservation" period, which lasted until 1887, stating that, when the reservation system began, "it was expressly declared that the Indians should be made as comfortable on, and uncomfortable off, their reservations as it was within the power of the Government to make them; that such of them as went right should be protected and fed, and such as went wrong should be harassed and scourged without intermission."

Those Indians who "went wrong"—such as the Apaches under Cochise in the early 1870's, the Sioux led by Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull in the mid-1870's, and the Nez Perce with Chief Joseph a short while later—were "harassed and scourged without intermission," conquered eventually and returned to reservations.

Those Indians who "went right," were, as Walker promised, "protected and fed" through a new practice of furnishing daily food rations and clothing to Indians, instituted as a by-product of the Indian peace treaties of the late 1860's and continued by the Indian Bureau until well into the 1920's.

The rations practice was the forerunner of special aids for Indians which continue to this day. The giving of rations was defended by Commissioner Walker:

"Can any principle of national morality be dearer than that when the expansion and development of a civilized race involve the rapid destruction of the only means of subsistence possessed by members of a less fortunate race, the higher is bound as a simple right to provide for the lower some substitute for the means of subsistence which it has destroyed? That substitute is, of course, best realized, not by systematic gratuities of food and clothing continued beyond a present emergency, but by directing these people to new pursuits which shall be consistent with the progress of civilization upon the continent."

There were contrary views, too. Indian Agent, V. T. McGillicuddy, on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, later commented.

"What reason or inducement can be advanced why an Indian should go to work and earn his own living by the sweat of his brow, when an indulgent Government furnishes him more than he wants to eat and clothes him for nothing?"

The "wardship" approach prevailed, with the pace set by Secretary of the Interior Caleb Smith.

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Education for farming and trades became a goal.

A start in providing health services to Indians had come in 1832 through funds authorized by Congress for smallpox vaccination of certain tribes. By the 1870's health services had expanded to include medical doctors on various reservations in an effort to combat the ravages of disease that were taking a heavy toll of the Indian population.

As the 19th Century came to a close, steps had been taken to launch programs of education and land resource development. Two vocational schools—Haskell Institute in Kansas and Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma—opened in 1884; and five years later a broader education program was instituted at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania.

On the land development side, some tribal groups were encouraged to enter into livestock grazing, although these enterprises were not highly successful among the nomadic groups, and overgrazing and loss of stock were common. Some irrigation of Indian lands was attempted—as early as 1876 on the Colorado River Reservation in Arizona—but this project was later abandoned. Even into the 20th Century, irrigation and conservation measure on Indian lands lagged behind the national efforts as a whole.

The Land Allotment Period — 1887-1934

All of these Indian programs, the initial phases of the broad "civilizing" process, came at the height of a long Indian Bureau and Congressional push for helping Indians to become "self-supporting" by allowing the Indian lands to be subdivided to individual Indians through what is known as allotment in severalty—or individual ownership of small pieces of land.

Dating back to 1633, when the General Court of Massachusetts Colony provided for Indians to receive "allotments amongst the English," there had been slowly growing advocacy of an allotment policy for Indians.

It was in the 1850's that the Federal Government reached its peak in Indian land title extinguishment and began to spell out more clearly in the next 30 years a growing preference for the allotment policy which at last was approved by Congress in 1887.

"In no former equal period of our history have so many treaties been made, or such vast accession of land obtained," Commissioner George Manypenny said in 1857. Through 52 separate treaties from 1853 to 1857 a total of 174 million acres of Indian land was acquired by the United States Government. Many allotments of land were provided through treaty to individual Indians, and for the next 30 years each succeeding Commissioner of Indian Affairs (except Francis A. Walker in the 1870's) favored the policy of subdividing the large tribal-held lands into small pieces owned individually.

The Indian Allotment Act, introduced in Congress by Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, was passed in 1887. Its intent was to assimilate the Indian by giving him individual ownership of land, as opposed to the collective land use and possession practiced by most Indian groups. Under the plan, small pieces of tribal land—from 40 to 160 acres—would be allotted to Indian families or individuals. Within 25 years, in a manner similar to that of the Homestead Act, the Indian, if adjudged "competent," would be given the land to use as he saw fit and would also acquire full citizenship status. However, before the 25 years had elapsed, the Burke Act (1906) permitted those Indians adjudged "competent" to acquire ownership at once.

The result of nearly 50 years of the allotment policy was to reduce the Indian land holdings from over 140 million acres in 1886 to under 50 million acres in 1934. Thousands of Indians receiving these allotments sold them to non-Indians who had the financial means and business abilities to develop the lands.

This sale or rental of land tended to increase the Indian's dependence upon Government support. In many cases rental income was too small or sale funds soon exhausted and the Indian was forced to turn back to the Government for assistance. In addition, the demands of this newly imposed civilization were often contrary to Indian culture and created psychological conflicts that still persist.

In the first decade of the 20th Century the Bureau of Indian Affairs embarked on further land development programs—in establishing services of conservation, reclamation and forestry—all designed to complement execution of the allotment policy.

The Road to Citizenship

The determination of Indian "competency" was carried out as part of Federal Indian policy well into the 1920's, and was highlighted by a 1917 "Declaration of Policy" by Commissioner Cato Sells and Interior Secretary Franklin Lane, which stated: "The time has come for discontinuing guardianship over all competent Indians and giving even closer attention to the incompetents that they more speedily achieve competency."

To determine whether an Indian is "as competent to transact his own business as the average white man," a practice of issuing "certification of competency" was established, and a network of "competency commissions" was created.

This approach was hailed by Commissioner Sells as indicating that "the competent Indian will no longer be treated as half ward and half citizen." Because of the

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growing number of Indians who obtained citizenship through allotment and because of a national appreciation for the record of Indian volunteers in World War I, the Indian Bureau began a push for full Indian citizenship. In 1924 Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act, granting citizenship to all Indians who had not previously acquired it.

The Attack on the Allotment System

Increasing public agitation for reforms in the administration of Indian affairs led Interior Secretary Hubert Work in 1926 to request the Institute of Government Research (the Brookings Institution) to study the Federal Indian policies. He asked for recommendations that would "embrace the education, industrial, social, and medical activities maintained among the Indians, their property rights, and their general economic conditions." An institute staff headed by Lewis Meriam produced the lengthy document in 1928 to be known as the Meriam Report which called for these basic Indian policy reforms:

1. "Establishment of a professional and scientific Division of Planning and Development to hasten agricultural advances, vocational guidance, job placement, and other aspects of economic development on the reservations.
2. "A material strengthening of the school and reservation forces that are in direct contact with the Indians and are responsible for developing and improving their economic and social condition through education in the broadest sense of the word" by deemphasizing the boarding school practice of taking children out of their tribal environment and accelerating development of a day school system on the reservations.
3. "Maximum practical decentralization of authority" from the central office to the local agency offices, plus better salaries for Indian Bureau personnel and enlisting more Indians into career Indian administration.

Of the allotment law, the Meriam Report charged:

> "When the Government adopted the policy of individual ownership of land on the reservations, the expectation was that the Indians would become farmers. Part of the plan was to instruct and aid them in agriculture, but this vital part was not pressed with vigor and intelligence. It almost seems as if the Government assumed that some magic in individual ownership of property would in itself prove an educational civilizing factor, but unfortunately this policy has for the most part operated in the opposite direction. "Individual ownership in many instances permitted Indians to sell their allotments and to live for a time on the unearned income resulting from the sale. Individual ownership brought promptly all the details of inheritance, and frequently the sale of the property of the deceased Indians to whites so that the estate could be divided among the heirs. To the heirs the sale brought further unearned income, thereby lessening the necessity of self support."

The report also proposed that Indians be permitted leasing rights in order to add enough land to their own allotments to make an efficient farm or ranch. This policy would counteract the easier tendency to lease these same lands to whites, a policy which deterred active land management by Indians. Furthermore, leasing to whites "gave the Indians unearned income to permit the continuance of a life of idleness," the study concluded.

Indian Reorganization Period – 1934 to 1961

The Congress responded to the Meriam Report with passage of reform legislation in 1934—the Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act).

It brought a halt to the process of allotment, prohibited unrestricted sales of Indian land, and provided for acquisition of additional lands by tribes and individuals. It created a foundation for tribal economic self-sufficiency by the establishment of constitutional tribal governments, the extension of credit from Federal funds, the fostering of tribal enterprises, and the institution of modern conservation and resource development practices. The keynote became cooperation between Indian tribes and the Federal Government to achieve change without forcing it.

The new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, said of the Act:

> "While the Wheeler-Howard Act marks a decisive shift of direction of American Indian policy, and endeavors to give the Indians not only a broad measure of economic assistance but also those 'national rights of man' mentioned by President Roosevelt in his letter of endorsement sent to Congress, it stops far short of the ultimate goal. It is merely a beginning in the process of liberating and rejuvenating a subjugated and exploited race living in the midst of an aggressive civilization far ahead, materially speaking, of its own."

From the perspective of two decades later, the Committee on Organization of the Executive Branch of

Government (Hoover Commission) summarized the impact of the Meriam Report and the resulting 1934 Indian Reorganization Act as follows:

> "In the years immediately following the Meriam Report there was marked progress in professionalizing the Indian Service through better personnel, improved methods, and higher professional standards. Indian education was modernized and a stronger and better coordinated economic program got underway. In the 1930's these activities were carried forward vigorously. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) has given further impetus to the economic program by authorizing enlargement of Indian lands, extending the lending function, and establishing a policy of scientific range and forest management."

The IRA also paved the way for revival of tribal organization, and establishment of tribal law.

Aside from the Wheeler-Howard Act, other significant Indian legislation of the 1930's included the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 and the creation in 1935 of an Indian Arts and Crafts Board within the Department of the Interior.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act provided Federal educational funds to assist States and local districts, and brought about an expansion of the practice of educating Indian children in the public school system. The Arts and Crafts Board revived interest in native crafts as a means of livelihood for Indian people.

The Indian Extension Service program began providing modern technical assistance to Indians in the fields of conservation, irrigation, grazing and dry-farming. An Indian credit program was launched with a revolving loan fund.

But the big development of the whole period was the start of tribal self-government, with several hundred reservation tribal groups determining by popular vote to govern themselves in a democratic manner with modern constitutions. Today's tribal council form of Indian government largely stems from this Act, although a number of Indian tribes had maintained constitutional self-government prior to 1934, and still others rejected the self-governing feature contained in the Indian Reorganization Act.

Effects of World War II

World War II, to a great extent, changed both the Indian way of life and Federal Indian policy directions. Nearly 70,000 Indian men and women left reservations for the first time to go into military service and defense industries. The Indian record in both instances was widely praised.

The war produced both new skills and a greater degree of cultural sophistication than had ever before been achieved by large numbers of Indians. But it also brought post-war demands for assistance in Indian vocational training and relocation, for expanded education and for reservation economic development.

The post-war period brought on the "area office" system of decentralized Indian Bureau administration. Many development projects—roads, irrigation and building construction—were resumed in 1946, after being stalled during the war.

The fifteen-year post-war period also saw: (1) greatly increased programs to aid education of the Nation's largest tribe, the Navajos. (A study in 1947 showed that nearly 75 percent of all Navajo children were not in school); (2) a ten-year economic development and rehabilitation fund for the Navajos and Hopis to bring much needed capital investment to this poverty-stricken region of the southwest; (3) development of Federal Indian programs of employment assistance, including vocational training and on-the-job training to Indian workers; (4) a start on Indian adult education for those Indians who had missed the elementary education now being expanded for their children; and (5) the beginnings of an Indian industrial development program to encourage private business and industry to locate in Indian areas.

Establishment of Indian Claims Commission

The Indian Claims Commission was created in 1946 to permit Indians to file suits against the Government. The Commission received a total of 852 claims in 370 petitions entered during the five years allowed for filing. Any "identifiable" groups of Indians within the United States or Alaska—then still a territory—could take their claims to this Commission. It was empowered to hear and adjudicate suits arising from claims in law or equity; tort claims; claims based on fraud, duress, unconscionable consideration, mutual or lateral mistake; claims based upon fair and honorable dealings not recognized by existing rules or law or equity; or claims based on the taking of land without payment of the agreed compensation.

Commissioner Collier and others hoped the settlement of claims would enable the Indians to become socially and economically assimilated into the fabric of American life. By November 1969, about one-half of the claims had been adjudicated, and settlements exceeding $305 million made. Although in some instances the judgements resulted in a per capita distribution of funds, many tribal awards have remained largely intact with the

money "programmed" for community and economic development.

Congress has directed the Commission to complete the task of hearing and determining the claims before it by April 10, 1972.

New Trends of the 1950's

Revival of pressures for Federal termination of trusteeship responsibilities occurred with the Hoover Commission's recommendation that programs be developed to terminate "the trust status of Indian lands."

Among members of the Hoover Commission's committee on Indian affairs was John Nichols, who became Indian Affairs Commissioner in 1949.

House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress in 1953 led to passage in the next few years of a number of termination bills. Introduced by Representative William H. Harrison of Wyoming and by Senator Arthur V. Watkins of Utah (who later became Chairman of the Indian Claims Commission), the termination resolution read in part:

> "It is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, and to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship . . . . . "

On June 17, 1954 the Menominees of Wisconsin became the first tribe slated for termination of Federal trusteeship. The tribe had a large investment in forest lands and tribal sawmill. The Menominee Reservation was to be fully removed from Federal trust status on December 31, 1958, although later Congressional Acts delayed final termination until April 30, 1961.

Other tribes "terminated" by law in this period were the Klamaths and Western Oregon Indians; four small bands in Utah; the Alabama-Coushattas of Texas; the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska; the Uintah and Ouray Ute Mixed Bloods of Utah; the Wyandottes, Ottawas, and Peorias of Oklahoma. Termination proceedings have been moving on a piecemeal basis under legislation passed in 1958 for the Indian rancherias throughout the State of California.

Strong opposition to termination from among some Indian tribes and others led to a statement by Interior Secretary Fred Seaton, who declared in 1958: "It would be incredible, even criminal, to send any Indian tribe out into the mainstream of American life until and unless the educational level of that tribe was one which was equal to the responsibilities which it was shouldering."

The 1950's produced several other important new legislative directions affecting Indian policy:

1. Indian lands in three States and part of two others were brought under State civil and criminal jurisdiction by an Act of August 1953;

2. The prohibition was lifted against the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians outside Indian country and a local option system was established within reservations, also in 1953;

3. The Division of Indian Health was transferred effective July 1, 1955, from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the U.S. Public Health Service. Notable progress has subsequently been made in reducing the Indian infant mortality rate, lengthening the Indian life span, and curtailing the severity of many illnesses.

The record in Federal-Indian relations over two decades was summarized in the late 1950's by the noted anthropologist and Pulitzer Prize winning author, the late Oliver LaFarge, as follows:

"The progress has been great, and it has been spotty. You cannot make over a race in 25 years, despite what the allotment theorists believed. It takes more than one generation to make the jump from a home in which no English is spoken, where the very sight of a white man is a rarity, where the thinking is the same as it was 300 years ago, to full competence in our alien and complex way of life. If, while the Indians are struggling desperately to make the great adjustment, the last remnants of their land base are lost to them; if, as they fear, the Indian Reorganization Act will be junked some day, their struggle will be hopeless. It is the Government's responsibility to enable [Indians] to keep and use what they already have, to allow them an ordinary choice, and not the flat alternatives of migrate or starve."

New Direction in the 1960's

A "New Trail" for Indians leading to equal citizenship rights and benefits, maximum self-sufficiency, and full participation in American life, became the keynote for administration of the programs for the Bureau of Indian Affairs after the close of fiscal year 1961.

This keynote was provided in a report to the Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, by a special task force on Indian affairs, which he appointed in February 1961.

To move toward the accomplishments of these goals, the task force recommended less emphasis on the purely custodial functions of the Bureau, greater concentration of time, energy, and funds on fostering fuller development of both the human and natural resources on Indian reservations.

Probably the most important single recommendation was a shift in program emphasis away from termination of Federal trust relationship.

This was coupled, however, with a recommendation that eligibility for special services be withdrawn from Indians with substantial incomes and superior educational experience who are as competent as most non-Indians to look after their own affairs.

An administrative reorganization was accomplished—not only in Washington but in area offices and agencies—combining in one new Division of Economic Development all operating units directly concerned with economic development. The resources functions of the Bureau were brought into closer relationship with the industrial development work and the revolving credit program. In the Washington office, the new division also included a program planning staff and a specialist in housing. In later years, the housing activity was transferred to the Division of Community Services.

A program to improve Indian housing, a product of the 1960's, opened up Indian reservations to the financial assistance already available through Federal housing agencies to non-reservation areas. Indian tribes established local housing authorities as a first step in qualifying for Federal housing assistance under the programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The Indian housing program is slowly and steadily gaining a foothold on the reservations.

To alleviate Indian unemployment, the Bureau also increased attention to job opportunities, through expanded programs in adult vocational training, voluntary relocation of Indians for employment in urban centers, industrial development on or near the reservations, and increased use of Indian labor by the Bureau on needed work in road maintenance and construction, repair and maintenance of buildings, and construction of buildings and utilities, all of which provided the Indians valuable construction training. Projects launched under the 1963 Accelerated Public Works Program on nearly 100 reservations provided useful work for thousands of tribal members and contributed importantly to the protection and development of Indian timber stands and other physical resources.

The declaration of war on poverty, first enunciated by President Johnson in his State of the Union message to the Congress in January 1964, was followed by his assurances to tribal leaders that Indian poverty was to be a major target. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was fully committed in the battle to drive poverty from American Indian reservation communities. Education and economic development were the major fronts in the war on poverty.

This period saw substantial progress in involvement of other agencies of the Federal Government in providing meaningful programs among the Indian people. They included the Departments of Labor; Commerce; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and Office of Economic Opportunity.

The programs for the disadvantaged under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 have provided the Indians an opportunity to participate in and control their own programs. The heaviest activities have been in programs for community action and youth training.

The Bureau, together with other Federal agencies launched selected Indian reservation programs to step-up the pace on the economic development process on 39 Indian reservations and waged a concentrated effort to stimulate economic and social change for Indians.

In 1966, the Indian people were in the forefront of public attention. That year, Robert L. Bennett, an Oneida Indian, was appointed Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The people-oriented approach was apparent in the stated policy of Commissioner Bennett. He espoused greater Indian involvement in decision-making and program execution. A new era of Federal-Indian relations was emerging with the Bureau taking the form of a coordinating and advisory agency, rather than the sole primary agency concerned with development of the human and economic resources of Indian communities.

Early in 1967, a 16-member National Indian Education Advisory Committee was appointed to assist in school programming and to improve communications between the schools and the Indian people they service. The Committee has devised a set of guidelines for the orderly transfer for Bureau schools to local Indian boards of education. Major financial support will continue to come from the Bureau under contracts with the Indian tribes. Indians are now participating in planning for the education of their own children, both on many public school boards and for Bureau schools.

For the first time, in the fall of 1967, 34 kindergartens were opened for Indian children under the auspices of the Bureau. These were the first to be funded by the Bureau and complements the Head Start program of OEO. To reach those adult Indians who for various reasons had little or no education and training, the Bureau began a breakthrough effort in employment assistance with the establishment of "whole family" residential training centers, which attempts to fit the entire family to urban life.

A historic special message on goals and programs of the American Indians was sent to the Congress by President Johnson in March of 1968, which proposed "a new goal—a goal that ends the old debate about termination of Indian programs and stresses self-determination, a goal that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes partnership and self-help." The message continued: "Our goal must be: A standard of living for Indians equal to that of the country as a whole, freedom of choice—an opportunity to remain in

their homeland, if they choose, without surrendering their dignity, and an opportunity to move to the towns and cities of America if they choose, equipped with skills to live in equality and dignity; full participation in the life of modern America, with a full share of economic opportunity and social justice."

Indian involvement in decision-making was made an integral part of policy planning by the issuance of an Executive Order which established a National Council on Indian Opportunity to review Federal programs for the American Indians, make broad policy recommendations, and to ensure that programs reflect the needs and desires of the Indian people, including those who live in urban areas. The Vice President was appointed as Chairman and council members include a cross-section of Indian leaders and high Government officials.

The President's message and the Senate pronouncement in Senate Concurrent Resolution 11 of the 90th Congress, clearly enunciated for the first time since 1953, a declaration of purpose toward the American Indians and the Alaska Natives. These pronouncements also took affirmative action to reverse the unilateral termination policies since House Concurrent Resolution 108 of 1953.

President Nixon Reaffirms Special Relationship

In August 1969 President Nixon appointed Louis R. Bruce, an Indian of Sioux-Mohawk descent, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Mr. Bruce was the third Indian to be appointed Commissioner since the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established in 1824. With the approval of the President, Commissioner Bruce subsequently announced a realignment of the top management positions at the BIA central office and appointed a new executive staff, composed of 14 Indians, one Alaska Native, and four non-Indians, more Indians than ever before in Bureau history to hold management positions.

A series of occupations of Federal land surplus to the immediate needs of the Government by American Indians began with the occupation of Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay in 1969. June 11, 1971–19 months later–U.S. Marshalls removed 15 Indians from the island. Indians had been negotiating with Government officials on plans to convert the island to an Indian cultural center. However, the Golden Gate National Recreation Act of October 27, 1972 established the approximately 34,200 acre Golden Gate National Recreation Area that now includes the island.

Other occupations have included that of the Nike missile site at Chicago, which Indians held June 14 to July 1, 1971 in a protest over a lack of suitable housing, and Mount Rushmore, June 6, 1971 when about 40 Indians set up a camp and demanded that the Federal Government honor the Sioux Treaty of Fort Laramie (1869) which they said gave them the right to all land in South Dakota west of the Missouri River.

President Nixon's special Message to the Congress on July 8, 1970 regarding Indian affairs established future Federal Indian policy. Along with more specific proposals for legislation, the message affirmed the historic relationship between the Federal Government and Indian communities, guaranteed that it would not be abridged without Indian consent, and proposed that Indian communities be allowed to take over control and operation of Federally-funded Indian programs when they chose to do so. The President added, "It is long past the time that the Indian policies of the Federal Government began to recognize and build upon the capacities and insights of the Indian people . . . . the time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions."

In his message, President Nixon called for self-determination for Indian people without the threat of termination of the trust relationship over Indian lands and the services guaranteed to Indian people along with this relationship. While President Nixon's message is the second delivered by the President of the United States, it is the first to be implemented by legislation. Among his recommendations, the President asked for:

– A new Concurrent Resolution that would "renounce, repudiate and repeal" the termination policy outlined in HCR 108 of the 83rd Congress;
– Support for voluntary Indian control of Indian programs with the necessary technical assistance from the Government to facilitate transfers of responsibilities;
– restoration of the sacred lands near Blue Lake to the Indians of Taos Pueblo;
– support for Indian communities to take over Indian schools, to establish Indian school boards, to receive funds and to contract for the operation of schools;
– economic development legislation through the "Indian Financing Act of 1970" to enable Indian leaders to arrange for the development and use of natural resources;
– improved government efforts to deliver services needed to assist Indians living in urban centers;
– the establishment of an Indian Trust Counsel Authority "to assure independent legal representation for the Indians natural resource rights" and to avoid conflicts of interest within government agencies;
– the creation of a new office within the Department of the Interior - Assistant Secretary for Indian and Territorial Affairs.

The first of the President's recommendation to become law was the act restoring Blue Lake and the 48,000 acres of surrounding land to the Taos Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. This act is significant because it

returns lands to an Indian tribe that had been taken and used for other purposes. Former practice had been to make cash settlements alone in compensation for land taken.

In keeping with the President's recommendations and proposals for legislation, Commissioner Bruce and his Indian executive team announced five policy goals in November 1970 to guide the Bureau in its new administration of Indian affairs:

– transformation of the BIA from a management to a service organization;
– reaffirmation of the trust status of Indian land;
– making the BIA Area Offices fully responsive to the Indian people they serve;
– providing tribes with the option of taking over any or all BIA Program functions with the understanding that the Bureau will provide assistance or reassume control if requested to do so;
– working with Indian organizations to become a strong advocate of urban Indian interests.

BIA Service and Support Agency

In its new role as a service and support rather than a management organization, the BIA encouraged and assisted tribes in their assumption of program operations. The Zuni Tribe of New Mexico assumed the responsibility for directing BIA activities at the pueblo in May 1970. Almost a year later, the BIA signed a contract with the Miccosukee Tribe of Florida empowering it to administer BIA programs on the reservation, including all education and social operations. BIA field technicians and administrators are working directly with these two Indian groups to assist with the development and implementation of programs to meet the expressed and particular needs of the two Native American communities.

The recent emergence of a strong and positive attitude on the part of Indian people that they can and will have better lives has become historically important. Indians of all ages, representing all tribes are undertaking unprecedented efforts to overcome the problems confronting them. Evidence of this new attitude is apparent in the establishment of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association (NTCA), a new organization of elected tribal chairmen. Created in April 1971, NTCA set up a 15-member commission to advise the BIA on national Indian policy. Through this group, reservation Indians can present a single, united voice in shaping the future of Indian affairs.

NTCA is not the only voice being heard at the decision-making levels in Indian affairs. As the urban Indian population has gained in numbers, other Indian organizations such as the National Congress of American Indians and the American Indian Movement have been instrumental in bringing recognition to the Indians in off-reservation communities.

Since World War II, when thousands of Indians left the reservations for military service or for wartime jobs, a steady off reservation movement has been taking place. This was given an additional boost in the early 1950's with the initiation of the BIA Employment Assistance Program which assisted Indians in locating permanent employment in non-reservation areas. The urban Indian movement of the 1950's and 1960's has resulted in an estimated 350,000 Indians living off the reservations today.

In his message to the Congress on national Indian policy, President Nixon pointed out that although the "BIA's responsibility does not extend to Indians who have left the reservation", this fact is "not always clearly understood. As a result of this misconception, Indians living in urban areas have often lost out on the opportunity to participate in other programs designed for disadvantaged groups." President Nixon directed the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to lead efforts to help urban Indian leaders work toward solutions to their problems.

OEO announced in May 1971 that it had joined with the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and Labor to create a Model Urban Indian Center Program to provide special assistance to the growing urban Indian population. Federal grants totaling some $880,000 were used to upgrade Indian centers in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Gallup, and Fairbanks, and to establish a central research technical assistance and coordinating office in New York City.

As a result of experience gained in various tribal, State and Federal programs there is presently a trained and educated Indian leadership available to staff management positions at levels where decisions are made regarding Indian affairs. Indian leaders are working in government agencies having programs that serve Indians both on and off the reservations. The Indian desk concept, after experimentation and successful operation in OEO, has been extended to the Departments of Commerce, Labor, Agriculture, Justice, HUD, and HEW. In 1974, HEW became the lead agency for programs to help urban Indians.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was signed into law December 18, 1971. This brought about the largest cession of land to a group of Native Americans in the history of the United States—one-twelfth of Alaska. This transfer of jurisdiction from Federal to Native hands—for 95 percent of Alaska belongs to Uncle Sam—began early in 1974. Concurrently, as land is put into Native hands, the United States Government and the State of Alaska will contribute $962,500,000 to Alaska Natives through the Alaska Native Fund.

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Commissioner Bruce welcomed 1972 by announcing plans for a massive redirection of the BIA's programs. This included helping Indians toward self-determination by reservation by reservation development plans, redirection of the BIA employment assistance program, resources protection, reservation roads improvements, and increased tribal control over Indian education.

The five-point program includes a reversal of a 15-year-old policy of training Indians to work in urban areas off the reservations. The primary objective of the new strategy was to encourage the development of totally viable Indian economies on reservations.

"Developing Indian economies does not mean merely locating non-Indian industry close to or on the reservations so that these corporations can enjoy a cheap labor supply. It means the development of truly Indian economic systems so that a dollar once earned by an Indian citizen can be spent and kept moving throughout an Indian economy, thus developing that economy and making a maximum impact upon that community . . . I want to see Indian economies where dollars move from Indian hand to Indian hand and are not drained out by those non-Indian cities that develop and grow and feed upon Indian reservations," stated Commissioner Bruce.

An Indian Water Rights Office within the Bureau of Indian Affairs was designed to protect Indian water and land rights from encroachment by Federal and private interests.

In May 20, 1972, President Nixon restored 21,000 acres of land in the State of Washington to the Yakima Tribe through an Executive Order.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C. was occupied by Indians representing the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan from late afternoon November 2 through the evening of November 8, 1972. The occupying group made certain demands of the Federal Government which, in turn, said it would not consider until artifacts and documents taken in the protest were returned.

Following the protest, the resignation of Louis R. Bruce was accepted by President Nixon and Marvin L. Franklin, an enrolled member of the Iowa Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, was named Assistant to the Secretary for Indian Affairs, a new position in the Interior Department. Franklin became senior official for Indian affairs within Interior with direct responsibility for all Department programs concerning Indian and Alaska Native people on an interim basis, reporting directly to the Secretary.

Shortly after he took command, a $2.5 million supplemental appropriation made it possible for some 3,000 Indian youths to receive scholarship money from the Bureau, making a record 14,000 students who had received such money during the current school year.

A 71-day seige of the village of Wounded Knee on the Oglala Sioux reservation near Pine Ridge, South Dakota, began February 27, 1973 when nearly 200 members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and its supporters took control. Members of AIM, the Oglala Sioux elders and Sioux people who supported the occupiers of Wounded Knee charged the elected tribal chairman at Pine Ridge with running a corrupt reservation government and called for repeal of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 which drastically altered the power base of most of the traditional leaders.

Richard Wilson, the Oglala Sioux Tribal Chairman, won by a plurality of about 200 votes over Russell Means, one of the AIM leaders at Wounded Knee, in a subsequent tribal election February 7, 1974.

August 13, 1973, an Office of Indian Rights within the Department of Justice was formed. It has the responsibility of enforcing Federal statutes regarding the civil rights of American Indians, primarily Title II of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, commonly known as the Indian Bill of Rights.

The American Indian National Bank was dedicated November 15, 1973, in Washington, D.C. Unique among the Nation's financial institutions, it is wholly Indian owned and operated. The concept that led to creation of the bank took form in the early '60's. The vision was for an institution with the financial services, counseling, and planning ability necessary to free the American Indian from the isolation of an economic island that meant higher unemployment, inadequate housing, and a smaller share of economic independence.

Morris Thompson, an Athabascan Indian and native of the State of Alaska, became Commissioner of Indian Affairs December 3, 1973. December 22, 1973, the President signed into law an act restoring the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin to Federal services. Candidates for the Menominee Restoration Committee were nominated January 19. Menominee land will not be put into trust until 1975, but when it is the resulting reservation will be the largest in Wisconsin.

Another landmark piece of legislation passed by the Congress is the Indian Financing Act. The law consolidates existing Indian revolving loan funds already administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and authorizes the appropriation of an additional $50,000,000 for the consolidated fund from which direct Federal loans will be made to Indian organizations and individuals and creates an Indian Loan Guaranty and Insurance Fund under which up to $200 million in loans made by private lenders to Indian tribes or tribal members can be guaranteed or insured for up to 90 percent of the unpaid principal and interest due.

It also provides for interest subsidies to reduce the cost of borrowing from private lenders and establishes the Indian Business Development Program which will

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stimulate and increase Indian entrepreneurship and employment by providing equity capital through nonreimbursable grants to Indians and Indian tribes to establish and expand profit making Indian-owned economic enterprises benefiting Indian reservations and communities.

Thompson immediately stabilized the organizational structure for the Central Office by appointing five directors, four of whom are Indian.

The issue of Indian preference was clarified by the Supreme Court—which found that the Bureau of Indian Affairs must follow Indian preference in initial hiring and promotion. Thompson's appointments have been made in the light of this decision.

President Nixon announced his support of a major enlargement of the Havasupai Indian Reservation in the Grand Canyon. Ousted from lands on the canyon rim almost a century ago, the Havasupai Tribe lives isolated on two small tracts at the bottom of the canyon. The tribe has patiently appealed for the restoration of a land base on the rim. This addition would return historic and religious sites, ancient burial grounds, and life-sustaining springs to the Havasupai.

Administrators of U.S. Federal Indian Policy -- 1789 to the Present

Secretaries of War (1789-1832)	Year of Appointment	President
Henry Knox*	1789	George Washington
Thomas Pickering	1795	
James McHenry	1796	George Washington and John Adams
Samuel Dexter	1800	John Adams
Henry Dearborn	1801	Thomas Jefferson
William Eustis	1809	James Madison
John Armstrong	1813	
James Monroe	1814	
William H. Crawford	1815	James Madison and James Monroe
John C. Calhoun**	1817	James Monroe
James Barbour**	1825	John Quincy Adams
Peter B. Porter**	1828	
John H. Eaton**	1829	Andrew Jackson
Lewis Cass**	1831	

*Knox had served as "Secretary in the War Office" since 1784. Prior to that, from 1775 on, Indian affairs had been carried on by Indian Commissioners from three departments, responsible to the Continental Congress.

**On March 11, 1824, Calhoun named Thomas L. McKenney, who had served from 1816-22 as Superintendent of Indian Trade under the War Department, to be the "head" of the Bureau of Indian Affairs within the War Department. McKenney served in this capacity under Secretaries Calhoun, Barbour, Porter, and Eaton, until replaced by Samuel S. Hamilton on September 30, 1830. Hamilton, in turn, was succeeded by Elbert Herring in 1831, who a year later became the first Commissioner of Indian Affairs by an Act of Congress.

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Secretaries of the Interior (1849-1974)	Year of Appointment	President
Thomas Ewing	1849	Zachary Taylor
Thomas M. T. McKennan	1850	Millard Fillmore
Alex H. H. Stuart		
Robert McClelland	1853	Franklin Pierce
Jacob Thompson	1857	James Buchanan
Caleb B. Smith	1861	Abraham Lincoln
John P. Usher	1863	
James Harlan	1865	Andrew Johnson
Orville H. Browning	1866	
Jacob D. Cox	1869	Ulysses S. Grant
Columbus Delano	1870	
Zachariah Chandler	1875	
Carl Schurz	1877	Rutherford B. Hayes
Sam J. Kirkwood	1881	James Garfield
Henry M. Teller	1882	Chester A. Arthur
Lucius Q. C. Lamar	1885	Grover Cleveland
William F. Vilas	1888	
John W. Noble	1889	Benjamin Harrison
Hoke Smith	1893	Grover Cleveland
David R. Francis	1890	
Cornelius N. Bliss	1897	William McKinley
Ethan A. Hitchcock	1898	
James R. Garfield	1901	Theodore Roosevelt
Richard A. Ballinger	1909	William Howard Taft
Walter L. Fisher	1911	
Franklin K. Lane	1913	Woodrow Wilson
John B. Payne	1920	
Albert B. Fall	1921	Warren G. Harding
Hubert Work	1923	Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge
Roy O. West	1929	Calvin Coolidge
Ray Lyman Wilbur		Herbert Hoover
Harold L. Ickes	1933	Franklin D. Roosevelt
Julius A. Krug	1946	Harry S. Truman
Oscar L. Chapman	1950	
Douglas McKay	1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower
Fred A. Seaton	1956	
Stewart L. Udall	1961	John F. Kennedy
	1963	Lyndon B. Johnson
Walter J. Hickel	1969	Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford
Rogers C. B. Morton	1971	

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Commissioners of Indian Affairs (1832 to Present)	Year of Appointment	President
Elbert Herring	1832	Andrew Jackson
Carey A. Harris	1836	Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren
T. Hartley Crawford	1838	Martin Van Buren, William H. Harrison, and John Tyler
William Medill	1845	James K. Polk and Zachary Taylor
Orlando Brown	1849	Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore
Luke Lea	1850	Millard Fillmore
George Manypenny	1853	Franklin Pierce
James W. Denver	1857	James Buchanan
Charles E. Mix	1858	
James W. Denver		
Alfred B. Greenwood	1859	
William P. Dole	1861	Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson
Dennis Cooley	1865	Andrew Johnson
Lewis V. Bogy	1866	
Nathaniel G. Taylor	1867	
Eli S. Parker	1869	Ulysses S. Grant
Francis A. Walker	1871	
Edward P. Smith	1873	
John O. Smith	1875	Ulysses S. Grant and R. B. Hayes
Ezra A. Hayt	1877	Rutherford B. Hayes
R. E. Trowbridge	1880	
Hiram Price	1881	James Garfield and Chester A. Arthur
John D. C. Atkins	1885	Grover Cleveland
John H. Oberly	1888	
Thomas J. Morgan	1889	Benjamin Harrison
Daniel M. Browning	1893	Grover Cleveland
William A. Jones	1897	William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt
Francis E. Leupp	1904	Theodore Roosevelt
Robert G. Valentine	1909	William Howard Taft
Cato Sells	1913	Woodrow Wilson
Charles H. Burke	1921	Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge
Charles J. Rhoads	1929	Herbert Hoover
John Collier	1933	Franklin D. Roosevelt
William A. Brophy	1945	Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman
John R. Nichols	1949	Harry S. Truman
Dillon S. Myer	1950	
Glenn L. Emmons	1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower
Philleo Nash	1961	John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson
Robert L. Bennett	1966	Lyndon B. Johnson
Louis R. Bruce	1969	Richard M. Nixon
Morris Thompson	1973	Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford

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Important Dates in Federal Indian Relationships

1633 First land allotment policy established (by General Court of Massachusetts Colony, acting to provide land allotments among Indians).

1754 English colonies met at Albany Congress to discuss unified colonial Indian policy.

1763 King George III proclamation setting aside "reserved lands" for Indians.

1764 Plan for Imperial Department of Indian Affairs.

1775 Continental Congress named Indian commissioners in north, middle, and southern departments.
First negotiation between Indian commissioners and Indian groups (Six Nations).

1778 First Indian treaty signed (with Delaware, September 17).

1784 Congress assigns War Office to provide militia in assisting Indian commissioners negotiating Indian treaties.

1789 Congress gives Indian authority to War Department; later it passes first appropriations for Indian affairs and designates territorial governors as ex-officio Indian superintendents under War Department.

1794 First Indian treaty providing education for Indians (Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Stockbridges).

1796 Establishment by law of Indian trading houses, operated by government.

1803 Louisiana Purchase from France, vast lands inhabited by Indians.

1806 Creation in War Department of an Office of Superintendent of Indian Trade, to administer Federal Indian trading houses.

1815-25 Post-war treaties with tribes north of Ohio River resolving trading areas and beginning removal to new western lands.

1817-18 First Seminole War in Florida.

1819 Congress enacts "civilization fund"—first Federal Indian education program.
Final Florida boundaries resolved with England; Indian lands involved.

1822 Act abolishing Indian trading houses and Office of Indian Trade, also naming new Office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis for western lands.

1824 The Secretary of War creates a Bureau of Indian Affairs within the War Department.

1827 Adoption of Cherokee Constitution: Georgia legislature nullifies it.

1830 Passage by Congress of Indian Removal Act.

1832-42 Federal Government conducts removal of "Five Civilized Tribes" from southeast States to new western territories.

1834 Acts coordinating Federal Indian administration, and modernizing Indian trade administration.

1845 Entry into Union of Republic of Texas.

1845-48 Mexican War.

1849 Act transferring Bureau of Indian Affairs from War Department to new Department of the Interior.

1853 Gadsden Purchase, acquiring new Indian lands from Mexico.

1867-68 Indian Peace Commission negotiates final treaties with Indians (last of 370 Indian treaties on August 13, 1868 with Nez Perce).

1869 Act creating Board of Indian Commissioners (lasting until 1933).

1870-86 Federal Indian policy, backed by military support, places final Indians on reservations; practice of giving Indians food and clothing rations started.

1871 Act abolishing all Indian treaty-making.

1887 Dawes Severalty Act, establishing official land allotment policy

1902-10 Start of Federal Indian reclamation, forestry, conservation programs.

1906 Burke Act, amending Dawes Act on allotment, describing Indian "competency."

1921 Snyder Act passed. This allows expenditure of appropriated funds for Indians without regard to degree of Indian blood, to membership in a federally recognized tribe, or to residence as long as it is in the United States.

1924 Act giving Indians citizenship and right to vote.
Indian Health Division established within Indian Bureau.

1928 Meriam Report published (after 2-year study), emphasizing new Indian reforms.

1934 New Indian legislation, including Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), ending allotment policy, providing for tribal self-government, launching Indian credit program; and Johnson-O'Malley Act, spreading out Federal Indian administration to many agencies.

1935 Act setting up Indian Arts and Crafts Board (established in 1936).

1948 Hoover Commission recommends transfer of Indian Bureau to Federal Security Agency.

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1953 House Concurrent Resolution 108 calling for termination of Federal trusteeship over the affairs and property of Indian tribes and groups.

1954 First of several acts calling for termination of Federal trust status over Indian lands (Menominees of Wisconsin).

Act transferring Indian Health Division from Indian Bureau of Public Health Service (transfer made in 1955).

1961 Interior Secretary Udall names Task Force on Indian Affairs, reporting later in year with long-range recommendations.

Federal housing assistance programs opened up to Indian reservations.

1962 Interior Secretary Udall names Task Force on Alaskan Indian Affairs, reporting later in year.

1964 Economic Opportunity Act programs provide Indians opportunity to participate in and control their own programs.

1966 Appointment of Robert L. Bennett, an Oneida Indian, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

1968 President Johnson's special message dealing exclusively with American Indians and Alaskan Natives, a historic first.

By an Executive Order, National Council on Indian Opportunity, under Chairmanship of the Vice President, established. Indian involvement in decision-making made an intergral part of policy planning.

1969 Appointment of Louis R. Bruce, a Sioux-Mohawk Indian of New York, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

1970 President Nixon's special message dealing exclusively with American Indians and Alaskan Natives sets forth a legislative program and expresses the idea of self-determination without the threat of termination.

Forty-eight thousand acres of land including Blue Lake returned to the Taos Pueblo, the first time a sizeable piece of land has been restored to an Indian group.

1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act—the largest cession of land to a group of Native Americans in the history of the United States—passed by the Congress December 18.

1972 The Employment Assistance or relocation program redirected to enable Indians to be trained for work on reservations.

1973 Morris Thompson, Athabascan Indian, appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Public Law 93-197 "Repealing the Act Terminating Federal Supervision Over Property and Members of the Menominee Indian Tribe" signed into law.

1974 Passage of the Indian Financing Act makes $250 million in credit for Indians and grants up to $50,000 to Indian small businesses possible.

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Books on Indian History, Problems, and the Indians' Relationship to the Federal Government

(Copies may be obtained from most large libraries.)

A History of the Indians of the United States by Angie Debo. A book which confines itself to the history of Indians in what is now the United States, beginning with the Indians in their homeland and progressing through the twists and turns of Federal Indian policy to the present. Factual and informative, with a comprehensive bibliography. Well indexed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

The Indian Heritage of America by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. A factual history of the Indians of North, South, and Central America through the previous Administration. Josephy is also the author of a report to the White House in which he advocates putting the Bureau of Indian Affairs directly under the President. New York: Bantam Books and Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.

The States and Their Indian Citizens by Theodore W. Taylor. The relationship between the Indians and the Federal Government is the oldest political issue in the United States, and it is examined here in terms of current issues. Discussed are: Removal, forced assimilation or support of Indian culture; Federal obligations to Indians; and relationship of Indians to the State governments. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972.

A History of Indian Policy by Prof. S. Lyman Tyler. A comprehensive history book of Federal Indian policy from the Colonial period to the present, with emphasis on the period since 1930 to enable the reader to see the processes involved in the adoption, administration, and eventual changes of Indian policy. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973.

Red Man's America: A History of Indians in the United States by Ruth Underhill. This book describes the cultures of the large Indian groupings including the five civilized tribes, woodlands Indians, Southwest corn growers, buffalo hunters, potlatch givers. One chapter is on the measures taken by the Government on the Indians' behalf. Miss Underhill is a former Bureau employee. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

The Indian: America's Unfinished Business: Report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian by William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle. This book brings the dilemma of the modern Indian into sharp focus, and is the first comprehensive investigation of the condition of the American Indian since the publication of the Meriam Survey Report in 1928. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

The Problems of Indian Administration by Lewis Meriam. Although this book is now out-of-print, it is the definitive investigation of Indian matters made by a special staff of the Institute for Government Research. It includes an examination of all facets of Indian life of the 1920's and is a study that modern work in the field can build upon. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928.

The American Heritage Book of Indians by American Heritage Publishing Co. Describes the pre-history and the cultural history of the American Indian people. It emphasizes Indian past and touches only lightly upon the modern Indians. New York: Simon & Shuster, 1961.

Indians of the Americas by John Collier. This Commissioner of Indian Affairs who served longer than any other describes the evolution of today's Indian tribes from pre-history to the New Deal period, when he was in the forefront of Indian politics. He sees the controlling factor of Indian life at the time the book was published as the triumph of group activity. New York: W. W. Norton, 1947.

From the Indian Point of View

Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto by Vine Deloria, Jr. The author, with wit and insight, presents in a provocative manner the grievances of today's Indians. He also gives a picture of reservation life as he relates how the white man has molded and shaped it. Toronto, Ontario: McMillan, 1969.

House Made of Dawn by N. Scott Momaday. A Pulitzer Prize winning novel that describes the trauma an Indian faces when he leaves reservation life. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

The New Indians by Sam Steiner. The first full-scale report of the gathering "Red Power" movement. . . a revolt against the white man's culture and its debasement of the tribal way. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom by Alvin M. Josephy. "The aim of red, or Indian power—the right of Indians to be free of colonist rule and to run their own affairs, with security for their lands and rights—is the major theme of contemporary Indian affairs and of this book" says the author in the first paragraph. The book contains excerpts from speeches, articles, and the like. New York: American Heritage Press, 1971.

American Indians and Federal Aid by Alan L. Sorkin. The author undertakes to evaluate the effectiveness of various programs provided by the Federal Government to aid Indians living on reservations. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1971.

Background Studies of Interest

Hagen, W. T.	AMERICAN INDIANS. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962.
Hodge, Frederick W.	HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS NORTH OF MEXICO. Government Printing Office, 2 Vols. (out of print). Reprinted by Pageant Books, Inc., New York, 1959 (An encyclopedia on the North American Indians).
Kinney, J. P.	A CONTINENT LOST—A CIVILIZATION WON. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1937.
Murdock, George Peter	ETHNOGRAPHIC BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICA. 3rd edition. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1960.
Prucha, F. P.	AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY IN THE FORMATIVE YEARS. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962.
Schmeckebier, Lawrence F.	THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1927.
Spicer, Edward H.	CYCLES OF CONQUEST: THE IMPACT OF SPAIN, MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES ON THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWEST, 1533-1960. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1962.
Swanton, John R.	THE INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1952.
Tyler, Prof. S. Lyman	INDIAN AFFAIRS: A STUDY OF THE CHANGE IN POLICY OF THE U.S. TOWARD INDIANS. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Vol. 1, 1964.
U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor	FEDERAL INDIAN LAW. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1958.
Wissler, Clark	INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES: FOUR CENTURIES OF THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, New York, 1946.

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Publications Available from Bureau of Indian Affairs

The following list of publications, published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office.

INDIANS, ESKIMOS AND ALEUTS OF ALASKA; INDIANS OF ARIZONA; INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA; INDIANS OF THE DAKOTAS; INDIANS OF THE GULF COAST; INDIANS OF MONTANA AND WYOMING; INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO; INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA; INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST; INDIANS OF OKLAHOMA; INDIANS OF THE CENTRAL PLAINS; INDIANS OF THE GREAT LAKES; INDIANS OF THE LOWER PLATEAU; and INDIANS OF THE EASTERN SEABOARD – This is a series of booklets describing the culture and history of tribes whose past is linked with various States and regions of the country. These include facts about Indian life today and Federal programs that serve reservation dwellers. 15 cents each, with the exception of INDIANS OF THE GULF COAST; INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO; INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA; and INDIANS OF THE GREAT LAKES; which are 20 cents each.

INDIAN LAND AREAS, General – A multi-color map that indicates the location and size of Federal Indian Reservations and the location of State Reservations, Indian groups without trust land, and federally terminated tribes and groups. In addition it has tourist complexes both existing and planned on Indian Reservations, Inter-state Highways, National Forests, National Parks and Monuments, and National Wildlife Refuges. 90 cents.

INDIAN LAND AREAS, Industrial – A 3-color map that indicates the location and size of Federal Indian Reservations and industrial parks and airstrips or airports upon them. In addition, Inter-state Highways are on the map. 35 cents.

INDIAN AND ESKIMO CHILDREN – A collection of captioned photographs designed to explain today's Indian and Eskimo children to non-Indian youngsters; preschool and lower elementary school level. 85 cents.

FAMOUS INDIANS: A COLLECTION OF SHORT BIOGRAPHIES – Illustrated vignettes for a representative sampling of 20 well-known Indian leaders. Definitive bibliographies are included for more advanced students. $1.05.

AMERICAN INDIAN CALENDAR – Lists outstanding events that regularly take place on Indian reservations through the year. Listed are ceremonials, celebrations, and exhibitions of Indian arts and crafts, where visitors may observe artists at work and purchase their products. 65 cents.

THE STATES AND THEIR INDIAN CITIZENS – by Theodore W. Taylor – The relationship between the Indians and the Federal Government is the oldest political issue in the United States, and it is examined here in terms of current issues. Discussed are: Removal, forced assimilation, or support of Indian culture; Federal obligations to Indians; and relationship of Indians to the State Government. $2.85.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN POLICY – By Prof. S. Lyman Tyler – A comprehensive history book of Federal Indian policy from the Colonial period to the present, with emphasis on the period since 1930 to enable the reader to see the processes involved in the adoption, administration, and eventual changes of Indian policy. $4.25.

INDIAN EDUCATION: STEPS TO PROGRESS IN THE 70'S – A booklet designed to acquaint its readers with the Federal education programs serving Indian students. It includes brief reports on some of the innovative approaches to education being used in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. $1.05.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs does not handle the sale of these publications. Checks, money orders, or Superintendent of Documents coupons should be sent with orders for these items to:

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

A discount of 25 percent is allowed on quantity orders of 100 or more, if mailed to one address. Orders for these, including the appropriate charges, should be sent directly to that office.

Where to Get Photographs of American Indians

HISTORICAL

Public libraries have many books containing pictures and information regarding American Indians or can obtain them through inter-library loans. Some libraries are equipped to make machine copies of photos.

The following sources make a nominal charge (approximately $2 each) for copies of photographs in their collections. It is advisable to write first for information.

National Anthropological Archives
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560

Still Pictures Section
National Archives
Washington, D.C. 20408

Heye Foundation
Museum of the American Indian
3751 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10032

CURRENT

Some Chambers of Commerce in States where Indians live distribute free literature containing pictures of them.

Area Offices, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Aberdeen Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
115 4th Ave. S.E.
Aberdeen, So. Dak. 57401
Telephone: 605-225-7343
(Nebr., N.D., & S.D.)

Albuquerque Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
5301 Central Ave. N.E.
P.O. Box 8327
Albuquerque, N.M. 87108
Telephone: 505-766-3173
(Colo., New Mex.)

Anadarko Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Federal Building
P.O. Box 368
Anadarko, Okla. 73005
Telephone: 405-247-6673
(Kans. & West Okla.)

Billings Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
316 N. 26th St.
Billings, Mont. 59101
Telephone: 406-245-6711
(Mont. & Wyo.)

Juneau Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
P.O. Box 3-8000, Federal Bldg.
Juneau, Alaska 99801
Telephone: 907-586-7177
(Alaska)

Minneapolis Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
831 Second Ave. So.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55402
Telephone: 612-725-2904
(Minn., Iowa, Mich., Wisc.)

Muskogee Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Federal Building
Muskogee, Okla. 74401
Telephone: 918-683-3431
(East Okla.)

Navajo Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
P.O. Box 1060
Window Rock, Ariz. 86515
Telephone: 602-871-4368
(Ariz., (Navajo Res. only), Utah, and N.M.)

Phoenix Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
124 W. Thomas Rd.
P.O. Box 7007
Phoenix, Ariz. 85011
Telephone: 602-261-4101
(Ariz., Nev.)

Portland Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
1425 Irving St. N.E.
P.O. Box 3785
Portland, Ore. 97208
Telephone: 503-234-3361
(Ore., Wash., & Idaho)

Sacramento Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Federal Office Building
2800 Cottage Way
Sacramento, Calif. 95825
Telephone: 916-484-4682
(Calif.)

Eastern Area Office
Bureau of Indian Affairs
1951 Constitution Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20245
Telephone: 202-343-5582
(No. Car., Miss., Fla., N.Y.)

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